

721 When a man went on a warpath for the sake of glory he generally led a large party and all sorts of special arrangements were made, because then a war leader was necessary and volunteers were always needed. It is believed that the same holds true for larger war parties.

In discussing the essential requisite for a successful war party we have stated that a special blessing was necessary for this purpose. There is, however, one noteworthy exception to this rule, if we are to accept the statements of members of the upper phratry—all members of the Warrior clan may go on a warpath without fasting and without receiving a blessing. This statement was vigorously denied by members of the lower phratry.

727 When a war party returns, a very interesting ceremony takes place. At some distance from the village a victorious war party sends a messenger ahead to tell all those at home that the war party has been unsuccessful and that all have been killed, and that those at home should put on mourning. Secretly, however, the leader tells someone to look for a pole for the Victory dance, and shortly after all the preparations for mourning have been made the victorious warriors rush into the village. Before entering the village that warrior who has counted first coup is offered a pipe, from which he always takes a few puffs. The same pipe is then handed to the one who counted coup second, and so on, until the fourth man is reached. Then the prizes (*winizure*) are given to the victors, who afterwards give them to their sisters. The scalps are not taken into the village, but are left outside, and warriors who have remained at home rush out to count coup upon them. Then the scalps are carried around the village four times.

555 The widely-known Plains custom of "counting coup" is also practiced among the Winnebago. The individual who strikes the dead body of the enemy first obtains the first honor, the one striking it second the second honor, the one striking it third the third honor, and the one who actually killed the enemy obtaining the fourth and least important honor.

721 The following are descriptions given in the words of the informants:
[115] Description of war customs and the manner of conducting a war party. Informant, member of the Thunderbird clan.

When a man is ready to go on the warpath, he looks around for so many men as he wishes to take along and then gives a feast. At the feast he fixes the time at which the war party is to start. The man giving the feast (i. e., the leader of the war party) would get up and tell those present that he intended going on a warpath and give his reason; then he would say that whosoever so desired could come along.

Many went along. Indeed, there was quite a crowd. The first stopping place (*hiyiyere*) was always near the outskirts of the village. There the leader appointed four men to go after food and wood for the fire. During their absence two camping places would be arranged, one on each side of the war leader. As soon as the four men returned with the food the attendants skinned and prepared the animals for

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outing. Then the war leader asked for food, and it was brought to him. Now the female relatives of the men came to the camp, bringing with them moccasins for the journey. After that the chief asked some men to tell stories and some to take care of the fireplaces, while two brave warriors were put in charge of the camp. Toward morning a number of warriors who had not been asked to join this particular war party might stay in *chetro'gitchi*. 721

Before the war leader enters the *higipara* he places his war bundle crosswise in front of the entrance of the *higipara* and sings some songs. When he is finished, his attendants place the war bundle on his back, and only then does he really enter the *higipara*, followed by all the other members of the war party.¹

When they approached the place where they expected to find the enemy, two distinguished warriors were appointed to reconnoiter, and they proceeded ahead of the war party until they saw the enemy. Then they returned to the camp and reported to the war leader. From that time on they would practice their various individual powers (*wawesa'p neapigijir'ji*).² 726

When the two warriors went out to reconnoiter return, the attendant offers them the pipe that he had prepared for the war leader. They smoke it and say, "Those whom we are after are entirely unaware of our presence." Then the members of the war party would thank them for their information. All would now start out against the enemy. When near the enemy, they practice their powers again and point themselves with their war points. To those spirits who have bestowed blessings upon the various members of the war party offerings are now made. Especially to the spirits who are in control of war powers are offerings made. To them they also pray for life and for war honors in the coming encounter. They even offer tobacco to those spirits from whom they have not received blessings, asking them for aid because of their careful observance of all the customs and prerogatives they were taught. Some offered tobacco to a medicine they possessed and asked the medicine to remember them in the coming encounter. Others boiled water (for a spirit) and asked him to assist them in obtaining a war honor, while others again offered tobacco to their war bundle and prayed that the powers contained therein might be strong and that they might kill some of the enemy and obtain war honors. All prayed that the enemy might not kill them and that they might finally return home safe. Those who had no supernatural powers to fall back upon would get frightened at such a time and they would say, "Alas! how will I fare! I should have fasted. I should have given *foatsi*. I should have offered good medicines to the spirits and fasted until I was blessed, so that I, too, might now have some powerful medicine to use. Had I fasted and obtained a blessing from the spirits who are in control of war powers, had I given *foatsi*, this all would have been a source of strength to me now and I would know positively whether or not I am going to be killed in the coming encounter." 726

When everything is in readiness the war leader rises and appoints four warriors to give the war whoop. Then, as soon as the war whoop has been given, they would rush upon the enemy, imitating as they ran the sounds of the spirits who had blessed them. The first four to kill and count coup obtained the corresponding four war honors. Those who captured a man also obtained war honors. Beside these principal ones there were minor war honors. Those who obtained no honors at all would return home crying. After they had killed all those in the village of the enemy they would burn it to the ground and then start for their home in the land of spirits. 726

When they were near their home they sent a messenger ahead to inform their relatives to put on mourning, for all those who had started out on the warpath had been killed; that he who had in reality obtained the first war honor had been killed first. 727

¹ *Higipara* is the special arrangement of the camp used on individual warpaths.

² When a war party has located the enemy, they prepare for the attack and run about, practicing their individual magical powers. "The war-whoop running" (*wawesa'p neapigijir'ji*) referred to is the practice of running about in preparation for the attack upon the enemy so that they may not get tired out too easily. 729

727 etc. Then the war leader would secretly tell some one to select a stake (for the Victory Dance) and after a short time all the members of the war party would rush in and march around the entire village striking the scalps that they had tied to sticks. Then they would all go to the place where the stake had been put up and there they would distribute the war prizes to the sisters of the men who had won them and the women would walk around proudly with the prizes around their necks. Then, in the daytime they would dance the Victory Dance and in the evening they would dance the Hok'ixere Dance for four nights.

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[115] Description of a war party.—Informant, member of the Thunderbird clan.

[787] If a man wishes to go on the warpath he must fast and be blessed by the spirits in a specific manner. If a man is thus blessed, he gives a feast and announces his intention of leading a war party. The chief always has a representative at such a feast (a member of the Buffalo clan), and as soon as it is over this man goes to the former and reports to him. If the chief thinks that the blessing is insufficient and might cause the death of many men he takes the war leader's pipe and lays it across his path and the war leader is then compelled to abandon his undertaking. This action on the part of the chief is sacred and must be accepted as final. The war leader dare not step across the pipe. Should the chief, however, not do this, then the war leader knew that there was no objection. Usually some members of every clan go along, but especially members of the Thunderbird, Warrior, and Bear clans.

[622] The action of the war leader is controlled by many rules. He must be the one who has fasted and been blessed with all that is essential for conducting a war party. He must have his food provided for him by the spirits, know the exact location of the enemy, their numbers, and their sex.

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701 After the war party has traveled for about four days, the men offer tobacco to the leader and he tells them where he is going, the number of the enemy, etc. If, after that, any of the members of the war party do not approve of the undertaking then they place a pipe across his path and the war leader is compelled to return. If nothing is said, then all is well. The war leader always goes ahead of his party and his attendants behind him, followed by the other members of the party. Whenever the chief stops his attendants run to his side, take his war bundle and place it in front of him. Then the leader sits down, neither turning to the right nor to the left but looking straight ahead. The attendants get two poles and place them on each side of him, bend the ends over to form an arch, on each side of which are placed small oak sticks arranged in a row. Under this structure the war leader stays. Here he sleeps and is fed by his attendants. No one is permitted to go ahead of this improvised structure. On each side of him two fireplaces are placed, two for the Upper clans and two for the Lower clans. If the war party is traveling westward the two fireplaces on the north side belong to the Lower clans and the two on the south side to the Upper clans. If a man is going on a warpath for the first time, he stays in the rear of the party and has a little fire of his own. He remains in the rear in this way until the battle begins. Then he joins the others.

[614] A member of the Warrior clan is selected by the war leader to act as guard and he goes back and forth behind him encouraging the men and telling them not to steal away alone or go too far ahead of the party, since that always results in the loss of life. It is for this reason that it is not considered correct for a man to try and steal away and perhaps obtain a war honor in this selfish manner. Whenever the war leader stops he tells his companions what they must do in order to obtain food, all this information having been provided for in his blessing. If he tells some one to go to a certain place and kill a deer, he is certain to find a deer at the place specified. Whenever the war leader gets up and steps over his war bundle the attendants come and place his war bundle on his back and he then proceeds on his march, followed by the other members of the party. Whenever he comes to a river he takes some of the tobacco which is

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always kept on hand and offers it to the spirit who controls this particular war party. The others do the same. Then he would cross the river. Whenever he drank any water the others would also do so, and if he refrained so would the others. If at any time during the night when they are camping the war leader should wake up and sing some songs, be they grizzly bear, black root paint, or night songs, all those others who know similar songs would likewise begin to sing.

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Miscellaneous war customs. There were, in former times, many miscellaneous customs connected with warfare, most of which have now been forgotten. However, in myths and accounts of war parties a number of them are still mentioned.

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When a war party surprised a lodge, all the occupants were killed or captured and the poles that were spliced together to form the arches were released so that they sprang back to either side and assumed a vertical position.

When a war party surprised a lodge in which there were children they generally killed them, cut off their heads, pried open their mouths so as to give them the appearance of laughing, and then placed the heads on their bodies again and arranged them against the door, so that when their father came home he would find them greeting him as usual. A brave warrior would never flinch at such a sight, but would prepare a meal as usual and speak to the children as if they were alive and offer them something to eat. Only then would he bury them. Immediately after they had been buried he would go on the warpath to revenge them.

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Frequently the skulls of slain enemies are used as lodge weights and their skin is taken off and used as mats, door-flaps, etc.

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War honors. "It is the ideal of every Winnebago youth," says an informant, "to kill an enemy in full sight of his friends and thus to gain for himself a headdress and an eagle feather." Most deeds considered valorous, according to Winnebago ideas, have associated with them certain insignia which are always worn in public, giving evidence to all that so-and-so has performed such and such a valorous deed.

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These insignia consist of the following:

Headdress and feather.—Denote that an individual has scalped and killed a man and torn off his scalp still bleeding. He is entitled to a red headdress and eagle feather. This also includes the man who has counted first coup (*sarinigwahi'na*).

Red headdress.—If he has killed the enemy and not scalped him (*tena'nte wak'e'ra*.)

Eagle feather.—Worn by one who has counted second coup.

Hanging eagle feather.—Worn by one who has counted third coup.

Eagle feather stuck crosswise in hair.—Worn by one who has counted fourth coup.

Waggirugir.—Consists of a rope worn around the neck. It is worn by the leader of that warpath who has captured an enemy.

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Id'gkerd.—Arm band worn by the person who did the actual capturing. If two enemies are captured he can wear an arm band on each arm.

Red-dyed eagle feather.—A red-dyed eagle feather worn by a war leader who has brought a captured enemy to camp and tortured him with embers.

Ankle-band of skunk or polecat.—An ankle-band of the skin of a skunk or polecat worn by one who has seen an enemy dead on the battle field and kicked him. If he does it for the second time, he may wear skunk skins on both legs below the knee. If the leader does it he is allowed to use an otter skin.

Rope tied to belt.—A rope of any desirable length tied to a belt may be worn by an individual who has succeeded in either capturing or killing an enemy's horse. At a dance no one would dare step on it. If an individual does not want to wear this, he may in its place wear a rope around his body.

Legs painted white.—An individual who has been on the warpath in winter may paint his legs white, from the knee down.

Gun painted red.—An individual who has killed an enemy with a gun may carry this gun at a dance and paint it red.

Spear.—If a person kills an enemy with a spear, he may carry this and tie to it any symbol (eagle feather, etc.) that he has gained.

Kok?r'c'c'c'.—An individual who was a well-known warrior and had fought in front of his comrades, and one whom the enemy respected, was entitled to a long stick with eagle feathers. At a dance he had the privilege of dancing with the stick in front of his comrades.

Hand on face.—Any warrior making all four coups, who did not care to wear a dress, might paint a man's hand in black upon his face.

Raven's skin around neck.—If an individual captured more than one woman in war, he was entitled to wear a raven skin around his neck.

Body painted yellow and wounded spots red.—If a man had been wounded on the warpath, he had the right at a dance to paint his body yellow and the wounded spots red, with red streaks running from the wounds.

Otter skin around knee and naggis'o.—A great warrior, one who has gained all the war honors, can, if he does not wish to wear his separate insignia, wear instead an otter skin attached below the knee, whose ends are not quite united. He may also wear a *naggis'o* consisting of a stick, whittled and painted red, in his hair.

Valorous deeds are also perpetuated on the grave posts when the warriors who have accompanied the corpse to the grave count coup and draw a picture symbolizing their particular deed on the post. It should therefore be remembered that the markings on these posts do not refer at all to the valorous deeds of the deceased but to those of warriors who happened to count coup at the grave.

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If you thus travel in the road of the good people, it will be good and other people will not consider your life a source of amusement.¹⁹

If you can not obtain a blessing from the spirits try also to have some good plant take pity on you. This I am telling you and if you do not do it, you will suffer for it. All that I am saying will be of great benefit to you if you pay heed to me, for (you will need medicines for) whatever you do in life, if you are not fortunate enough to obtain blessings from the spirits. If you are ever on the warpath, you will need medicine in order to escape being hit or in order to prevent yourself from getting exhausted or from feeling famished. If you manage to be fortunate in all these things you may be certain that the medicines have caused it.

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My son, help yourself as you go along life's path, for this earth has many narrow passages and you can never tell when you will come to one. If, however, you have something with which to strengthen yourself you will come safely through the passages you meet.

Let every one think you a desirable person to know. Associate with people. If you act in this manner, every one will like you. (You will live) a contented life. Never do anything wrong to your children. Whatever your children ask you to do, do not hesitate to do it for them. If you act thus people will say you are good-natured. If you ever lose a friend by death and if you have riches cover²⁰ the expenses of the funeral of the deceased. Help the mourners to feed the people at the wake. If you act thus you will be acting well. Then you will be truly a helper of the people and they will know you as such. Indeed, all of them will know you. For the good you do, all will love you.

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My son, do not become a gambler. You might, it is true, become rich, but in spite of your wealth all your children will die. No gambler ever had children. It is an affair of the bad spirits entirely. Now if you do all that I have told you, you will unquestionably lead a happy and contented life.

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Thus would the old people speak to a child whom they loved very much, that he might obtain the means of warding off what is not good. Anyone who acted contrary to these teachings would have himself to blame for the consequences.

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¹⁹ This dislike of being made fun of, or of being the laughing stock, plays an important rôle among the Winnebago. It is not at all comparable to the same feeling as found at the present day among civilized people of Western Europe, for it is infinitely deeper and closely associated with social ostracism. The despondency caused by being made fun of, would frequently drive a person away from home or lead him to embark on any undertaking that would bring death. Owing to the social consequences coming in its train, a man would consequently do most anything in his power to ward it off. Correlated with this negative aspect of the use of "fun-poking," there is a positive one. There are certain relatives who have the privilege of making fun of or playing practical jokes on you. This "joking-relationship" exists among many tribes in America, but the relatives between whom it is permitted differ in every case. Among the Winnebago it exists between uncles and nieces and nephews and between brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law.

²⁰ That is, buy the funeral apparel for the deceased.

of specific clans in different villages. When on the warpath the twofold division manifested itself in the arrangement of fireplaces, so that the question to be resolved here is whether we can credit the statements that this twofold division expressed itself in the arrangement of the village, and, if it did, whether this was characteristic of the whole tribe or only of parts of the tribe. That this was true for part of the tribe can be accepted. Whether it was true for the whole tribe, however, can not be definitely answered until we know more of the Dhegiha and Teiwere. In the subsequent discussion of the clan we will touch on this subject again.

The twofold organization is reflected in the arrangement of the fireplaces when on the warpath, each division having two fireplaces,

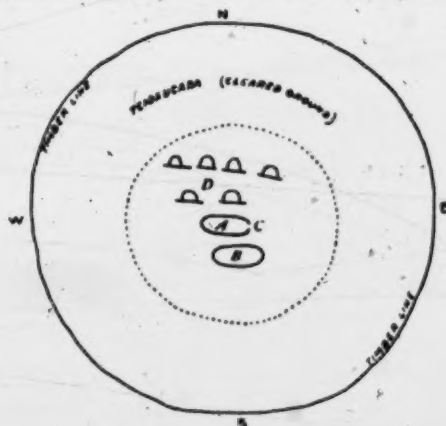


FIG. 34. Plan of village according to John Rave, of Bear clan. A, Lodge of chief of tribe (Thunderbird clan). B, Lodge of chief of Bear clan. C, Lodge of Warrior clan. D, Lodge of Buffalo clan.

whose location is determined by the direction in which the party is going. When going west, for instance, the two fireplaces for the *waggersgi* are on the south, and the two for the *manegi* on the north side. However, when on the tribal move or hunting, no indication of the division exists.

As the basis of ceremonial organization, we find the twofold division present only once—at the chief feast (*huyk wohq*), but as this feast is to all intents and purposes a feast given by the bird clans in general, there is really nothing surprising about its use. The name *huyk wohq* would seem to indicate that we are dealing simply with a feast of the Thunderbird clan, and this indeed may have been the case historically. *Huyk* to-day, however, is frequently used to indicate the *waggersgi* division.

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the old man went to a certain place he would find them. He went and found it was so.

TALES CONCERNING MIDJISTEGA

Recently the Potawatomi were going on the warpath and a number of other tribes were going along with them. As they were making their preparations they spent the evenings exhibiting the various powers they possessed and which they had obtained during their 'anta.

One day Robert Lincoln's father heard that a Winnebago was going to come and give a grizzly bear dance. Old Lincoln and a few other Potawatomi decided to go over and watch him. When they arrived at the lodge they were told that the name of the Winnebago was *Midjistega*. They were also told that this *Midjistega* was going to make some gunpowder (in a magical manner). When they heard this, the Potawatomi said that if he could make his teeth protrude from his mouth he might be able to make gunpowder, but that otherwise he could not.

In the middle of the lodge where this performance was to be held there was a wooden dish filled with charcoal near which *Midjistega* was sitting. He had beautiful hair and he had marks made by white clay in the corners of his eyes and mouth. When the singers in the lodge began to sing for him he ran around the lodge on all fours, four times. Then he took up the dish of charcoal and shook it. While doing this he made a noise like a grizzly bear. Then his teeth began to protrude. When he had gone around the lodge four times the charcoal turned into gunpowder. Then he took a handful of it and threw it into the fire and it exploded. The members of the different tribes present took some of it and put it in their war-bundles. It is only a short time ago that a Winnebago war-bundle that was supposed to have some of this gunpowder was stolen. It belonged to a man named Buchanan.

Old man Lincoln had never seen any Winnebago before this, but he could understand their language and he interpreted all that *Midjistega* said. The Potawatomi around him asked whether he had learned the language from some of his Winnebago relatives but he said he had not.

After showing that he could make gunpowder in this way, *Midjistega* made some plug tobacco. He cut the bark of some walnut trees into the shape of plug chewing tobacco and put it in a white deer skin on top of which was placed a piece of real plug tobacco. Then *Midjistega* said, "Now since I have made gunpowder I will also make some plug tobacco." Then he took the bundle and danced around the lodge with it and by the time he had danced around the lodge the third time the odor of tobacco became very

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648 strong. After he had danced around for the fourth time he opened
 789 up his package and there was the tobacco. Then he spoke to the
 796 people, "You people of different tribes, the one that is dancing
 726 with me will obtain the first war-honor on the warpath that you
 791 are planning now, for I am giving him that honor and that power."

After this he told them that he would make them some paint, as they seemed to be short of it then. He took a wooden dish and filled it full of ashes and covered it up with a white deerskin. Then he danced around the lodge. As he was dancing around for the third time, old Lincoln thought he noticed yellow-colored paint. The fourth time he danced around, the paint turned into a red color. When, finally, *Midjitega* took the cover off, there was red paint of a very fine quality. Then the members of the different tribes distributed it among one another.

After this he made some axes. He molded some clay into the shape of axes and put them into a deerskin. On top of this bundle he put a real metal ax. Then taking this bundle he started to dance around the lodge. As he went around the lodge the third time, old Lincoln thought he noticed something shining. After he had gone around the fourth time he took the cover off and there were some real axes. They were all new and bright.

Then he decided to make some hoes, and then some awls. All of these he made of clay. Then he made some needles of deer hair. Then, noticing some boys playing with some basswood bark, he asked them to give him some, and out of it he made ribbons of four different colors, blue, white, red, and black.

Then he said, "As I have made almost everything, I will now try and make some whisky. If I fail there will be no harm done anyhow." Old Lincoln told his people what *Midjitega* was saying. Then they placed a new pail full of water before him. He took a flute and began to dance around the lodge. After he had made the first circuit of the lodge he held the flute near the pail, almost sticking it into the water. The second time he approached the pail he stuck the flute into the water just a little bit. The third time he came near it he stuck the flute into the water and stirred it around. By that time Old Lincoln could smell the odor of whisky pretty strongly. Then *Midjitega* went around the lodge for the fourth time and finally stirred the water with his flute for a long time, and taking a drink from the pail said, "It is whisky." Then he passed it around and everyone present took a drink. Old Lincoln, however, did not touch it. Then his father told him to drink it, as it was holy and had been made by a spirit. Then Old Lincoln drank some, and, sure enough, it was whisky, although it was colorless.

726 After that, all the people went on a warpath. However, the per-
 555 son to whom *Midjitega* had promised the first war honor only obtained

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the second one, Old Lincoln himself obtaining the first. The first war honor was a quantity of wampum beads and the second a wampum belt. Both the one who got the second prize and Old Lincoln brought back with them an enemy's head.

From that time on *Midjitega* stayed with the Winnebago and he and Old Lincoln became great friends, living together, one of the reasons being that Old Lincoln could understand Winnebago.

One day they ran short of corn meal, so they decided to go and trade some furs for corn meal. They had plenty of furs because they spent most of their time hunting. When they got to the trader's store *Midjitega* said, "Say, trader, the boys have been out of paint for some time and you ought to give them some." "No, *Midjitega*, I can't do that." Then *Midjitega* again said, "Well, the paint boxes are small and aren't of much value anyhow, and you ought to make them a present of some. However, I always knew you were very stingy." Then the trader said, "My business is to trade you my wares for your furs and I will not give you any paint for nothing." Then *Midjitega* said, "If I had some flour I could make some paint myself. However, I am short of flour, too." Then the trader said, "*Midjitega*, you can not do it, for even the whites do not know how to make paint (in that way), so how could you, who are only an Indian, do it?" Thus they spoke to and fro and finally the trader said, "*Midjitega*, I will bet you my store against your furs that if I give you some flour you can not make paint out of it. If I win you are to give me your furs, and if you win I will give you my store." Then the bet was agreed upon.

Then a lodge was prepared and *Midjitega's* drum and flute were carried into it. Then the trader had some flour carried over to the lodge and it was poured into a dish. The trader, suspecting that there might be some trick, stirred up the flour thoroughly. He satisfied himself that there was nothing at the bottom of the dish. *Midjitega*, in the meantime, painted the corners of his mouth and eyes with ashes and then the singers sang for him. Then he handed the flute over to Old Lincoln and told him to blow it for him every now and then. The trader sat near the entrance of the lodge with his employees. Then *Midjitega* jumped up and ran all around the lodge on all fours. Then he took the dish with the flour and shaking it, began to dance around the lodge with it. After he had danced around for the third time it suddenly turned into a yellow color, and Old Lincoln noticed the change in the expression on the trader's face. As he went around for the fourth time it suddenly changed to a red color. When he got back to his starting place it was quite red and was an excellent quality of paint. Then he said, "Well, trader, I have won your store," and the trader answered, "You have won my store. I did not think that an Indian could do it." Then *Mid-Ogo*

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arrange to have your victim die immediately, or, if you wish, to ⁷⁵⁴ have him suffer for a long time, by becoming paralyzed.

This same medicine is used in a similar way in times of scarcity of food. The people offer a shaman tobacco and he would do the following: He would take his medicine bundle and walk till he came to the footprints of a bear. Then he would follow the tracks of the bear till he came to his lair. Here he would open his medicine bag, dip the striped feather in the medicine, and sing for some time. When he has finished he makes certain sounds and imitates the bear's footprints. Wherever the bear happened to be at that time, he would not be able to walk, and the people would soon overtake him. For that reason this medicine is valued very highly.

This medicine is also used when one desires something belonging to another. All that is necessary to do in such a case is to use the songs accompanying the medicine. Then all the things one has coveted would immediately be brought. For this reason they thought a great deal of this medicine.

If ever anyone uses it in gambling, he will win.

If again he casts his thoughts upon women, then the power of this medicine would go in their direction, and he will lose while gambling. All the women will, however, like him. He can marry whomsoever he wishes. The same thing will occur when a woman uses this medicine. If she casts her thoughts upon men, she will become foolishly enamored of them. For that reason the old people used to forbid women to use it. ^[545]

This medicine bundle is also used on the warpath. If a man uses it upon himself and rushes upon the enemy, all those who are in front of him will suddenly find themselves unable to move. A person who goes on a warpath, after he has carefully applied the medicine to himself, is invulnerable. It is impossible to kill him, for no bullets can penetrate his body. ⁷⁷⁸
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This medicine was likewise used in hunting for bear, and deer ⁷⁷⁸ could easily be killed with it. Even those who are not accustomed ²²⁴ to hunting could kill game easily if they used it.

Many of the medicines mentioned above were obtained from the man who was blessed with the stench-earth medicine. Everyone believed that the cures effected by him with this medicine were real. They believed that this medicine could cure them, and, indeed, it did cure them. It was this man, too, who originated the stench-earth medicine feast. It is a very sacred feast, considered more ⁷⁵⁶ sacred than any other feast among the Winnebago. When the feast is given, an entire deer is boiled and cut into pieces much ⁷⁵⁶ larger than any one person could eat. Nevertheless the host orders ⁷⁹⁶ those whom he has invited to leave nothing upon the plate. Should ^[264] any guest leave anything upon his plate, the host would give him a

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self. Blessings are not obtained except by making the proper offerings to the spirits and by putting yourself, time and again, in the proper mental condition . . . If you do not obtain a spirit to strengthen you, you will amount to nothing in the estimation of your fellowmen, and they will show you little respect . . . My son, as you travel along life's path, you will find many narrow passages (i. e., crises), and you can never tell when you will come to them. Try to anticipate them, so that you will be endowed with sufficient strength (by obtaining powers from the spirits) to pass safely through these narrow passages.

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Among the Winnebago religion is definitely connected with the preservation of life values. It is not a phenomenon distinct from mundane life, but one of the most important means of maintaining social ideals. What these are can be gleaned from practically every prayer; they are success, happiness, and long life. The vast majority of investigators are often surprised at the intense religious life which, among the North American Indians, exists side by side with an intense realism and with a clear understanding and appreciation of the materialistic basis of life. The explanation, to judge from the Winnebago data, is simple enough. The Indian does not interpret life in terms of religion, but religion in terms of life. In other words, he exalts the world around him and the multifarious desires and necessities of the day, so that they appear to him, bathed in a religious thrill. At least that is what the devoutly religious man does and most of the religious data presented in this volume emanates from him. Still we are convinced that for the vast majority of Winnebago, in other words, for the intermittently religious, there are many moments in life and many actions which are seen through this pleasurable religious thrill.

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Every Winnebago will admit that to perform the *winnatce're* ceremony (p. 111) and, on the following day, to agree to start at a certain hour, would not necessarily result in killing a bear. The bear tracks are to be followed and a person is to persevere until the bear is captured, in spite of the fact that the *winnatce're* ceremony is supposed to insure the capture of the animal.

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Or again let us take the following example. No man can hope to go on a warpath and kill an enemy unless he is authorized to do so by a definite blessing received during fasting. If we were to accept this statement as such, we might be led to believe that the Winnebago were willing to risk their young men on so dangerous an undertaking as a warpath, on the sole strength of a fasting experience. It does not stand to reason that they would, and a careful inquiry into the subject has shown that they never did. What actually happened was that the prospective war leader translated into religious terms the exact conditions and requirements of every particular war party. That is why the chief of the tribe and the shamans insisted that only such a person who had been blessed with the most specific kind of knowledge, such as the number of men he must take

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along, the amount of food required, the number of moccasins necessary, the number and strength of the enemy, where he was to meet them, etc.—that only such a man might start on a warpath. If an individual failed to give the proper assurances and guarantees to the chief, his expedition was not countenanced. If, nevertheless, he went, any mishap was directly chargeable to him.

In other words, we are dealing here with a more or less fixed way of describing the mundane happenings of life. The terminology is religious, but does that mean that there is always a religious feeling attached to it? That is the crucial question to determine. We believe that the religious element in such a happening depends upon the religious susceptibility of the individual concerned. It is quite possible that a devoutly religious man may think of the religious aspect of a rite or action more than one who is but indifferently religious, but he will never for one moment forget that the questions involved here are of a purely human nature. The most that can be said of the religious element of the two particular cases mentioned above is that they will spur the person on. Perhaps it is the realization that such is the case that often prompts the more matter-of-fact individuals to lay such stress on fasting preparatory to starting on a warpath. There, indeed, seems to have been a matter-of-fact movement in the tribe, for the members of the Warrior clan claimed that they could dispense with the fasting, and that mere membership in that particular clan gave them the right to go on a warpath whenever they wished to. This we know was vigorously denied by other individuals.

The Winnebago has no disinterested, unselfish love for the spirit or deity to whom he prays, except in so far as every man is likely to develop such an attitude at some crisis or when his mind is fixed intently on the attainment of some personal advantage. Then, naturally enough, the spirits who are to bestow these blessings are addressed in the most laudatory terms. To show how intimately these spirits are bound up with the worldly affairs of man and how little they mean to him apart from this we have but to point out that, for the vast majority of Winnebago, the spirits' freedom of action is conceived of as definitely restricted. There seems to be a purely mechanical relation of cause and effect between the offerings of men and their acceptance by the spirits. The latter are not free to reject them except in theory. Was it not ordained by Earthmaker, when the earth was created, that in return for tobacco the spirits were to bestow blessings on man? So every Winnebago believes. The religious leaders insisted that only when the proper offerings were made in the proper way would the spirits bestow their blessings. But after all is said and done, the chances that the proper conditions would not be fulfilled were negligible. And we doubt whether this

the newer deities. He is both a great deity and a guardian spirit. That he developed out of the indefinite "folklore-spirits" is abundantly attested by the rôle he plays in the myths. 776

Morning Star is preeminently associated with war.

Disease-giver. This is but an approximate translation of his name in Winnebago, which is *hewetah wahim*. He is a very peculiar figure, being described as an anthropomorphic figure, dealing out death from one side of his body and life from the other. He is preeminently a guardian spirit who only appears to the bravest and holiest fasters. His specific blessings seem to be connected with war and the curing of disease. 726 755

He appears in none of the myths and in but few of the ceremonies. He plays a very important rôle in the war-bundle feasts.

It is rather difficult to explain his origin. He seems hardly to be a deity of the people and can best be understood, it seems, if we regard him as largely a construction of the shaman. Certain of his characteristics may have been borrowed from some neighboring tribe.

Thunderbird. Thunderbird is another of the older folkloristic conceptions that has been remodeled and reinterpreted by the shamans. He might be said to be the most popular of Winnebago deities. He is found everywhere—in the oldest myths, the clan origin myths, and the newest myths; he is a clan ancestor, a popular guardian spirit, and a popular deity. In contradistinction to practically all of the other deities, he is regarded as easily approachable by man.

To the popular mind he is distinctly theriomorphic in form, causing lightning by the flashes of his eyes and thunder by the flapping of his wings. In some of the versions of the clan origin myth we still find this conception. In the hands of the shamans he became an anthropomorphic deity, characterized by baldness and the wearing of bay wreaths. Something of the older conception still clings to him, however, for he frequently acts as a bird and the flashing of his eyes still causes lightning. His baldness itself is an archaic feature, because the Thunderbird originally was supposed to be a kind of eagle. 756

Many representations of the Thunderbird can be found on various articles and in the effigy mounds.

He blesses men with practically everything, but particularly with victory on the warpath. 726

Water-spirit.—The meaning of the Winnebago word for this deity, *wak'teri*, is unknown. The translation "Water-spirit" does not claim to have anything to do with the real meaning of the word, but it was preferred by the Winnebago because this deity is always pictured as a water monster.

He is one of the older folkloristic conceptions and has not been very greatly reinterpreted by the shamans. The Thunderbird is sup- 756

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When I was ready to go down among the human beings (i. e., when I became reincarnated) I was given the power to overcome my enemies in battle. And this I have actually done. All the Thunderbirds have small war-clubs. I also had one when I came. Whenever I went on the warpath I made myself a war-club and used that only in battle. I believe that I was invulnerable. Whenever I got tired of living among human beings I knew I could return to the Thunderbirds. I thought I knew all this and that I had these powers. For that reason when I ate peyote I still held on to these beliefs for a long time, thinking that when I returned to the Thunderbirds inasmuch as they are above it would be the same as going to everlasting life, as the Peyote people said. Finally, one night, at a peyote meeting, in thinking over these things, I resolved to give them up. I could, nevertheless, not bring myself to do it. Then the peyote began to strangle me; at least I thought so. [795]

I also had the power of causing or stopping rain. All that I had to do was to offer tobacco to the Thunderbirds and make my request. [789] [782]

HOW A BEAR BLESSED A MAN²³

Once a band of Winnebagoes used to give a feast to the bears. A bear had blessed one of their number with life and victory on the warpath. [825] [776] [787]

It was a spirit-bear that had blessed him. The man was fasting and the spirit blessed him and said, "Human, I bless you. In war you will be able to do as you wish (i. e., you will be able to kill an enemy whenever you desire). The first time you go on the warpath you will come back with the fourth war honor; the second time you go on a warpath you will return with the third war honor; the third time you will return with the second war honor; and the fourth time you will return with the first war honor and receive the first prize, which you are to give to your sister." This is what the man dreamed. He believed it and was happy. Then the spirit-bear said again, "Human, I said that I blessed you and I really mean it. Earthmaker created me and gave me control of many things. Human, I bless you. As many years as Earthmaker bestowed upon you, that number I also bless you with. You will reach the limit of the years that were granted you. With my body I also bless you. Whenever you are hungry and wish to kill a bear, pour a pipeful of tobacco for me. If then you go out hunting, you will be successful. Don't abuse the bears. I am the chief of the bears. I bless you. Never before have I blessed a human being, as long as I have lived here. As long as your descendants live on this earth, so long will this [224] [782]

²³ According to the Peyote people, if a member does not wish to do or tell something that he ought to, the peyote begins to strangle him and he finds no relief until he tells what is on his mind. [795]

²⁴ This is really the "origin myth" of a bear feast.

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THE WINNEBAGO TRIBE

[ETH. ANN. 87]

787 have made yourself suffer very much" and my heart has been rent
159 with pity for you. I bless you, therefore, with life, and this you
776 may transmit to your descendants." All this, father, the spirit said
to me." "My daughter, it is not good. These spirits are trying to
deceive you. Do not accept it. They will never bestow upon you
what they have promised." "All right, father, but let me at least
give them the offerings of deerskin, red feathers, and tobacco. I
will not accept these blessings, for you forbid it."

Then after four days she took her offerings to the place where she
was to meet the spirit and told him that her father had forbidden
her to accept the blessing. "You are not a good spirit," he said.
"He is right, for one side of my body is not good but the other is,"
answered the spirit. "That is the way in which Earthmaker
created me." Thus the wak'ai'teu spoke." Then the woman
looked toward the lake and she saw a tree standing in the water.
The spirit climbed upon this tree and wrapped himself around it.
Then he took a tooth and shot the tree and knocked it down."
"This is what you would have been able to do," said the spirit.
"The people would have respected you very much. You would have
been able to cure weak or nervous people. But you did not listen
to what I told you. You refused it."

FARTING EXPERIENCE

(INFORMANT, CLAN UNKNOWN)

A man fasted and was finally blessed. When he was to be blessed
a spirit came after him. He came from the south. "Human," he
said, "I was told to come after you." Then the man looked at him
and he saw that it was a man speaking to him. So he went along
with him. He did not go far before he came to a village and in the
middle of this village he saw a long lodge. There he was taken and
there he was blessed. The one that was in charge of the village
blessed him first.

"I bless you with victory in wars. Whenever you go on the war-
path and when you are about to make the rush, do not forget me.
If you pour some tobacco for me and then fight, the enemy will not
be able to kill you. I am in charge of wars."

* When people are blessed by the Water-spirits they make medicines from the bones of the spirits. They are also supposed to make what the Winnebago call "implements." What is actually meant by this term it is very difficult to state precisely. But it seems that they meant sharpened bones, etc., used in connection with the administration of magical medicines in painting the body, and in connection with shamanistic practices of all sorts. It is not common for other spirits beside the Water-spirits to bless an individual with the use of "his bones," but this is occasionally met with. In the trick-deer cycle the trickster, in one of his disguises, is supposed to be placed in the skull of an elk, and he persuades the people that he is an elk-spirit and blesses them and permits them to use his bones.

* This character would seem to identify the wak'ai'teu with the disease-giver, although it is possible that a number of Winnebago doctors had such character traits.

* This is a symbolic representation of the powers she was given.

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So he spoke to him. "Thus will your life be. Look at yourself." 787
So he looked at himself and his hair was very white. As one who 159
had attained a full life he saw himself. "All that are within this 776
lodge bless you," the spirit continued. "You have come to the
Buffalo village." This he was told, so he looked at the lodge full
of people. And those whom he had seen up to that time as human
beings now were buffaloes.

"Human, they bless you is why they went after you. Human,
if anyone is weighted with life and a reasonable amount of tobacco
is given, such a one would be able to do the following":

A dead man was placed in the middle of the lodge, and all of 787
those in the lodge tried their power, but none succeeded in restoring 159
him to life. At last the spirits let the man try it. So he tried. 776
When he arose, all those in the lodge began to make sounds and 756
when he began to exert his powers he sang buffalo songs. When
he was through with these songs, he walked toward the dead man,
in the middle of the lodge. He blew on him once, then again and
again. Now the man began to open his eyes. Then he blew on
him for the fourth time and he caused him to rise.

"Human, you have overcome all of us," said the buffalo chief.
"Human, thus shall you ever do to people. If anyone is sick and
the proper offerings are made to you, send some tobacco to our
council lodge and I will remember you. You must send all the 752
tobacco that is offered to you. I will remember it. This council
lodge is given to you and to your posterity as long as it lasts. As
long as the earth lasts that long your posterity will have occasions
on which to pour tobacco. Whatever blessing they ask, we will
bestow upon them while we smoke their tobacco. As many as are
the kettles that they offer to us, we will never accept one without
giving them a blessing. We are in control of wars; the Earthmaker
has given us control of them, and if you ask for it we will give it to
you. And if you ask for life we will bestow that blessing upon you
and accept your offerings."

They also blessed him with plants for medicine. This is the way
they did it. Each of the spirits caused him to see a plant and to 278
know the purposes to which it could be put. They told him to make 782
offerings to the plants whenever he gave a feast, so that the plants
would become more powerful. They also blessed him with a drum. 534
"This you must beat when you give a feast and it will tell us your
wants. We will understand the drum. We will make your drum
holy for you, and you must treat it as such," they told him. "You
must keep it holy. Whenever you are on the warpath you must 726
take it with you and it will help you. Human, your enemies you will
overcome; your weapons only will be sharp if your posterity will
never give up this ceremony." So they spoke to him. "Whenever 000

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THE WINNEBAGO TRIBE

[ETH. ANN. 37]

So they spoke to him, "Menever

787 you give this ceremony, no matter what blessing you ask, we will
 776 beatow it upon you, when you offer tobacco. A flute you must also
 keep holy. You must make it yourself, so that it remains sacred."

[534] They also told him to make a war bundle. The Buffalo chief told
 [778] him this. So he made one out of a buffalo head and a buffalo tail.
 825 These he made sacred so that people might offer tobacco to them.
 This was done long ago and yet they still do it.

Then they told him that four differently colored buffaloes would
 bless him—a white one, a black one, a red one, and a yellow one.

After a while he was blessed the second time. This time the spirits
 came after him from above and took him to the home of a spirit
 buffalo. This is the one that blessed him.

• [726] "Earthmaker has placed me here," said the spirit, "and he has
 [782] given me control of many things. Grandson, I bless you. I am in
 control of war power, and if you ever go on the warpath don't forget
 me. If you pour a pipeful of tobacco for me before you go into
 battle, the enemy will only be able to shoot your shadow." Thus he
 spoke to him. "I will take your body, and in that way it will
 only be your shadow that the enemy will try to shoot with all their
 strength. You will be without a body, and how then can they hit
 you, being without a body?" This is what the spirit told him. So,
 therefore, whenever he went on the warpath it was impossible to
 kill him. For the spirit had said, "I am also in control of life and
 I will give you your life back, that you may control it. The spirits
 have given you a tobacco-pouring feast and whenever you give it,
 [796] remember that I wish to smoke also. When you pour tobacco for
 [782] me I will grant you whatever you ask. If you ask for war, or if you
 ask for life, I will accept your tobacco. As long as this earth lasts
 I will smoke your tobacco and accept the kettle of food that you
 place on the fire for me."

Thus he spoke to him. The man, however, still kept on fasting,
 and finally the spirits came for him again. There in the middle of
 the earth lived a buffalo-ghost. There he went and the buffalo-
 ghost said to him: "I also bless you. You were given counsel and
 I who am a buffalo also counsel you. I am in control of many things.
 Earthmaker placed me here to live and he put me in control of many
 things. Human, look at me," he said. The man looked at him.
 Then he saw that his body was covered with flattened bullets. "Thus
 you will be," said the ghost to him. "It will be impossible to kill
 you, and you will attain to old age, and when you get tired of living
 you may do as you please. I give you the privilege of controlling
 yourself." Then he gave him a song and he caused him to see a
 war prize, a wampum. After a while he spoke to him as follows:

"I also will always smoke at your feast, and if a kettle is ever put
 on the fire for me, I will be thankful to you. Whatever the people

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ask of me I will always take it into consideration. If they ask for war or if they ask for life, remember that I have been given control of these things." This spoke the buffalo-ghost. There he received all the things with which he was blessed.

In the course of his life he made use of all his blessings. His first victory occurred when he went on the warpath for the first time. He had joined a war party and a fight occurred toward the evening of the same day. As he was walking along he suddenly saw a gun directed against him at close range. He jumped right and left and in that way escaped being shot. Then the enemy tried to capture the one who had been blessed by the buffalo, holding him tightly by the arm. But he struck the enemy twice against an object and tore his stomach open. Then he walked away. As he was going he thought to himself, "Why did I not kill him outright?" So he went back with the intention of doing this, but as he approached the man the latter directed a gun against him. Thinking, however, that it was not loaded, he did not dodge, and he was shot. His breast was filled with shot and he was killed. But he did not remain dead long. He soon came to consciousness and sat up, uttering sounds like a buffalo.

Then he remembered that a buffalo ghost had blessed him. He had indeed said to him, "When you are about to fight do not forget me." He remembered this, so he exerted his power. All the blood that was in his stomach he vomited forth and felt better. Just then one of his relatives came along and asked him, "How have you been getting along?" and he answered, "I have killed one. There lies his body. Take his scalp for me." "All right," said his relative, and did what he had been told, and brought it to him, saying, "Here it is." A horse was there also, and this the relative likewise led away and started back to (the camp). When he met the war leader, the latter asked him, "How have you been making out?" He answered, "I give you these trophies," and handed the leader the scalp and the horse. "Ah, it is good," he said, and put a wampum belt on him. Then the war leader sang a song and started to run, and the buffalo-blessed one reminded himself of his blessing and went back also. He was all shot to pieces. But he did not die, for he had been blessed with power, so how could he die? The buffalo ghost he had seen with flattened bullets in his belt had fulfilled his promise, and the wampum belt that he had seen in his fasting had now become true.

He went to many wars after this, but he was never harmed. He doctored many people and caused them to have more life. After a while he made a war bundle consisting of a flute that he had constructed himself, a buffalo tail, and a buffalo head. Then he made offerings to them. These many things he made sacred. Since then buffalo feasts have been given.

CHAPTER XIII

RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES BASED ON BLESSINGS FROM SPIRITS

SOCIETY OF THOSE WHO HAVE RECEIVED BLESSINGS FROM THE NIGHT SPIRITS

Informant, member of Thunderbird clan: Once a man went hunting so that he might be able to get the game with which to give a feast. All of those who were to participate in the feast went along with him. After they had killed some deer they built a lodge. Then all the other feast-givers came into the lodge, bringing something toward the feast, as well as the tobacco which they were to offer. Some brought other things, even dogs, as their contribution to the feast. The dogs would be killed, singed, then boiled, and prepared in the same way as the deer. The meat would then be mixed with dry corn. The attendants, who were generally the nephews of the feast-givers, would look after the boiling of the food. Every time they gave a feast they selected these nephews to do the cooking and the general work connected with this ceremony.

The nephew who acts as attendant accompanies a feast-giver on the warpath, where likewise he has to endure a great deal. Should his uncle be killed, it is his duty to be killed likewise and not to return home.

He acted in this way because of his love for his uncle. The attendants do all the work whenever their uncles give a feast. They also arrange for the place where the feast is to be held; make the four invitation sticks; blacken them with charcoal and decorate them at the ends with fine and fluffy white eagle feathers. Then they prepare a bundle of tobacco containing about a pipeful. After these preparations have been made one of the nephews goes around the village and presents the invitation sticks to every individual who had been blessed by the Night Spirits. These are called the night-blessed children. The night-blessed children thanked the messengers and assured them that they now felt they were obtaining life. Then those to whom the invitation stick had been presented go around asking their relatives to accompany them to the feast. There the guest and his relatives would meet at the appointed time. All those who received invitation sticks do the same.

778 B. was not the eldest son, but, as mentioned before, the war bundle was always given to that son who manifested the greatest interest in it. When B. and his brothers were quite young their father took them aside one day and told them the stories connected with the war bundle and told them, in addition, that the one manifesting the greatest interest would receive it. B. immediately started getting material for a feast, and this he would give to his father, who would then give a feast. This was repeated over and over again until B.'s father felt that B. knew enough about the ceremony to conduct it himself, after which he allowed him to take entire charge of it.

The war bundle contained the following objects:

The body of an eagle (taxce'p).

The body of a hawk (k'eredju'sep).

The body of an unidentified bird (wanink'hfwjtek't'zok'et).

The body of a pigeon hawk (k'rik't'risge).

A deer-tail headdress (teasinte wak'e're).

Eagle feathers (taxce'p maq'd').

Medicines (wase').

Flutes (hijō'jyk).

War club (nama'tee).

[825] The birds' bodies were supposed to give the possessor, in times of war, the characteristics of these animals. The flutes were associated with different spirits and used to accompany certain songs during the ceremony proper. When blown during a fight, they were supposed to paralyze the running powers of the enemy and thus make him an easy prey. The deer-tail headdress, the eagle feathers, and the war club were all war paraphernalia and were always worn when on the warpath.

x-796 When the custodian of a war bundle decides to give a feast he has his nephews go out and kill as many deer as they can, for the larger the number of deer obtained the larger will be the number of spirits to whom they can make offerings. As a rule ten to eleven deer are killed, so that all the clans, or at least all that are still in existence, can be invited.

[202] After the deer have been killed active preparations are begun: the invitation sticks (napō'zopa) are sent out, and the wood for the ceremonial lodge is gathered; and, lastly, old women who have passed their climacteric are set to work on the buckskins and ordered to make them as white as possible. In the preparation of the lodge only the nephews, nieces, and wives of the participating men take part.

[886] The night before the ceremony proper, the Sweat-Lodge ritual takes place.

When the buckskins have been thoroughly bleached they are brought into the lodge and given to the host, who proceeds to mark them in the following manner:

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THE CLAN WAR-BUNDLE FEASTS

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"Host and members of his clan who are sitting here, I greet you. 539^x
You seated here who have impersonated the spirits, I send forth my 796^x
greetings to you."

Then the second person for whom they had put on a kettle spoke.

Speech of ninth guest.—"Host and members of his clan who are
seated here, I greet you. To you, seated here, impersonating the
spirits, I send my greetings. It is good. The host has tried to make
us live. All those present here have been pleading to the spirits who

are in control of life and war powers. If any Indians are sick and the
keepers of the war bundle give this feast then their illness will be
overcome; they will recover from their disease, it is said. My father

said that the people used to add more fuel to the fireplace of our chiefs
when they do this. My grandfather told me that even if I (insignifi-
cant as I am) who speak were to make an offering of food to the
spirits it would be good. I knew that he always spoke the truth, yet

I knew that such as I could not do anything. (Thus grandfather
spoke to me), 'Some day when you are in the presence of war and the
rush is about to be made, you will not be frightened for you can say
to the spirits, "Grandfathers, I always gave you something to smoke,

boiled food for you, and gave you the material for moccasins. Now
I wish to go to the fight that is to take place." If you speak to them

thus, though you do not hear them answering you, (you will recognize
their answer in the fact) that without any effort you will be victo-
rious.' They told the truth to one another, for they were certain of
these things. That is why they encouraged one another. This is

what the host and the members of his band are doing. It is good.
A laudable thing they have done. They have boiled food for our
grandmother, the Earth. They have offered her tobacco and buck-

skins and have as a reward received war powers. It is good. Our
grandmother whom they made me impersonate, I greet. Host and
all those who are seated within this lodge, I send forth my greetings
to you."

Then the third one whom they called on for a kettle rose to thank
them and said:

Speech of tenth guest.—"Host and members of his clan who are
seated here, I send my greetings toward you. It is good. The host
has given the tobacco offerings to the various spirits at the proper
time. They (host and clan members) have accomplished very much.

Once long ago, four generations back, a man like a spirit in power had
told them what to do and since then they have been repeating it.
It is good. Their ancestors long, long ago first gave (this feast) and
yet even to-day we have seen it. They (host and his relatives) lis-

tened attentively to what they said and they have repeated it exactly.
We, ourselves, could not accomplish anything if we gave a feast.
When in former times they had feasts in honor of our grandfathers,

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THE CHAN WAR-BUNDLE FRANTS

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APPENDIX

After they have finished the fast-eating contest and eaten the heads and before the men are picked out¹⁴ then the host greets all. 539x
796x

Speech of host. "War-bundle owners who are seated here, I send forth my greetings to you. Our grandfathers used to say that if one would take a chance at becoming a ghost¹⁵ then the spirits would consider it especially good. There was one man among our grandfathers who was called He-who-shouts-in-the-distance and he put himself in the position of one who desires death. This warrior, He-who-shouts-in-the-distance, was a great man, an unequalled person. Now in summer it is forbidden to go on a warpath, for no good could come of it. That is why they forbade it. Yet He-who-shouts-in-the-distance went on the warpath four times during the summer, they said. Thus he became one who risked his life. In this way he proved that he was a great man. Finally he became holy and was permitted to carry the war bundle.¹⁶ Thus does one do to be a person who takes risks with his soul.¹⁷ Thus we will do at the very first feast we give. May (the spirits) also have pity upon us [as recompense for] the kettle of which they will partake. That is what we ask. War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you."

¹⁴ I. e., before the men to whom bottles had been assigned were called upon to speak.

¹⁵ I. e., risk one's life in a brave way.

¹⁶ It is one of the greatest privileges a warrior can obtain to carry the war bundle when on the warpath.

¹⁷ I have purposely translated this phrase, "wame' ruh hahmang' dya" in three different ways to give all the different shades of meaning it possesses.

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RADIN]

THE CLAN WAR-BUNDLE FEASTS

547 796^x

you can do so, and the women likewise can join, because we have rolled up our bundle. To the dog that we have here, an offering of tobacco can be made." Thus speaking, he sings. After he has finished the song, someone specially called upon gives the war whoop, in which the rest join. In this manner they sing four times, and the ceremony ends. They have a dog around whose neck they tie a red rag, together with a bundle of tobacco, and to each of whose limbs they also tie a bundle of tobacco. This dead dog is to be placed wherever the bones that remain of the feast are buried, generally under some tree. It is supposed that the dog will go directly to the Disease-giver together with the tobacco and there be taken over by him. 539^x 782 [562] [231]

Notes on the Thunderbird clan war-bundle feast.—Informant, member of the clan: Place of honor at the feast is given to the bravest man present. Scalps, etc., are always brought to those keeping the war bundle. [554]

Contents of bundle: Black hawk (main thing), two wolf tails, buffalo tail, snake, weasel, three flutes—one red, one black, and one blue. 778 726 789

Black hawk used in time of war. If I were leading the war party I would carry it and it would be able to fly. It had a small bundle of medicine tied around the neck, on each wing and each leg. A red flute always went with it.

The two wolf tails could be taken on any warpath. It gives an individual the power of running. The medicine tied to it is to be smeared over the body in order to prevent fatigue. It is also used in hunting. [224]

Buffalo tail gives fleetness and indicates that the man received strength from the buffalo spirit.

Weasel and snake could be put around the neck and worn over the shoulders in times of war. Gives the power of these respective animals in wiggling. [225]

Flutes, blue in connection with the buffalo, red in connection with the black hawk, and black in connection with the night spirits [534]

THE WAR-BUNDLE FEAST OF THE BEAR CLAN

Informant, member of the Bear clan: The people were about to go on a hunt, it is said. They returned. Four deer had been killed. And again they went, and this time three deer were killed. But it was not sufficient, so they went out again, and when they returned it was found that they had killed only three deer. "Well," they said, "this will be all right. We have ten deer. Perhaps they will last as food until dawn." 796^x 539^x [262]

They told the attendants to get ready the lodge and to build the fireplaces. They told them also to have the wood and the buck-

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF WINNEBAGO INDIANS.

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of these two types of arrangements quite difficult. There can be no question as to the existence of a twofold division of the tribe as far as marital regulations were concerned, nor as to the segregation of specific clans in definite villages. When on the warpath, the twofold division manifested itself in the arrangement of fire-places, so that the question to be resolved here is whether we can credit the statements that this twofold division expressed itself in the arrangement of the village, and, if it did, whether this was characteristic of the whole tribe or only of parts of the tribe. That this was true for part of the tribe, can be accepted. Whether it was true for the whole tribe, however, cannot be definitely answered until we know more of the Dhegiha and Teiwere. In the subsequent discussion of the clan, we will touch on this subject again.

The twofold organization is reflected in the arrangement of the fire-places when on the warpath, each division having two fire-places, whose location is determined by the direction in which the party is going. If they were going west, for instance, the two fire-places for the *wageregi* would be on the south and the two for the *mqnegi* would be on the north side. On the other hand, when on the tribal move or hunting, no indication of the divisions exists.

As the basis of ceremonial organization, we find the twofold division present only once—at the Chief feast (*huyk'wohq*), but as this feast is to all intents and purposes a feast given by the bird clans in general, there is really nothing surprising about its use. The name (*huyk'wohq*) would seem to indicate that we are dealing simply with a feast of the Thunderbird clan, and this indeed may have been the case historically. *Huyk'* to-day, however, is frequently used to indicate the *wageregi* division.

As the basis of organization in a game the twofold division finds expression in ceremonial lacrosse. There the *wageregi* are always pitted against the *mqnegi*. A well-known myth is associated with this arrangement, according to which the animal ancestors of the *wageregi* and *mqnegi* decided their respective rank by playing a game where they were organized on this basis. The *wageregi* won, and it is for this reason that the chiefs of the tribe have been selected from that division. The division of the

171 the tribal reverence is centred. Historically, we believe that
 614 these were originally possessions of an individual clan, which
 778 subsequently became identified with the entire tribe. Among
 the Winnebago nothing in the remotest manner comparable to
 these clan possessions exists, and the few specific objects pos-
 sessed by the clan have never become of real tribal significance.

614 The specific material possessions of the clan consist of
 778 certain war-bundles, one in each clan; and two crooks in the
 possession of the Bear clan. Of more general possession are the
 war clubs, of which there are two types, one found among the
 [616] *wageregi*, the other among the *mayergi* divisions. In connexion

[796] with the clan-bundles there are certain ceremonials known as
 [171] clan-bundle or war-bundle feasts, popularly as winter feasts.
 The distribution of the clan-bundle differentiates these from the
 specific possessions of the Omaha clans, and suggests a hint as to
 their historical associations. To all intents and purposes, as

[575] their individual history shows, these bundles are merely gifts
 from one spirit, the thunderbird, and a secondarily associated
 night-spirit (*hake*). The winter feast might thus be interpreted
 as a society of those who have obtained blessings from the
 thunderbird. The bundle remains in the possession of a certain
 family, however, and cannot pass out of the clan. The war-
 bundle may, therefore, be said to be primarily the personal
 possession of a family which has become associated with all the
 members of the clan to such an extent that it is almost regarded
 as a clan possession.

• [726] In the possession of the two crooks by the Bear clan we have
 an example of specific clan property. The crooks are in the
 nature of emblems and are used on the warpath to indicate the
 extreme line of advance. They are thus of tribal significance.
 When not in use, they are kept in the lodge of the Bear clan.

Immaterial Possessions of the Clan.

Although there are no specific material possessions, each
 clan possesses a type of what might be called "immaterial"
 possessions. These all have the added connotation of sacred-
 ness. For the bird clans, this is the possession of fire; for the

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MCKERN, A WINNEBAGO WAR BUNDLE CEREMONY

153

I permit him to forget his largain when the squash was served later in the day.

Big Wave did not participate in the feast, nor did he smoke ceremoniously or otherwise during the entire performance. During the feast he sang several songs without drum. These were his war-bundle songs, obtained in a dream by the original owner of the bundle and descending to his successors.

The bones from the feast were gathered up by the waiters and placed in a single vessel. Tobacco was added to the bones, and the vessel taken out to a place where no people were in view and where no dogs could molest the contents. This was a sacrifice to Disease Giver.

After the meat had been entirely consumed, the leader announced that they would now have night spirit dancing. An old bow and four arrows were brought out and planted in the floor to stand erect in a row just west of the fireplace, where the war-bundle had formerly been displayed. Big Wave appointed one to lead the dance. The dancers aligned themselves in single file on the south side of the lodge, facing west, and were led by the dance leader carrying the bow and arrows and blowing a reed whistle, followed by the other dancers. The singers began singing and the dancers circled several times about the lodge counter-clockwise. With short pauses between, several songs and dances were so executed. When the set of songs was finished, the bowl of tobacco dedicated to the use of the guests was then given by one of the waiters to the most honored guest. The head waiter lifted the stove shovel containing the remains of the burned cedar leaves and poured the contents in the fire. Then the singing was resumed and they danced once more about the fire, joyously.

When the singing stopped, the leader for this dance returned the whistle to Big Wave, and the latter, as soon as all were again seated, addressed his guests. He said that this was the way they worshipped the spirits of their fathers. He thanked those participating for their assistance in the singing and dancing and solicited their further help. So they should enjoy health, long life and success. Everyone responded with a series of confirmative "O's". The feast of boiled squash was now served. It was the duty of the waiters to eat any scraps left by the feasters, since food uneaten is considered an affront to the spirits to whom the food is dedicated.

The ceremonies described above were followed by a buffalo dance. It seems that the spirit of the buffalo was especially noted for his speed in running, and could imbue his devotees with his skill. Inasmuch as speed in running was of prime importance in primitive warfare, where the desired procedure was to come quickly upon the enemy, strike decisively and disappear from the scene, the buffalo dance is considered an altogether proper adjunct to the war-bundle ceremony, and regularly follows in.

7: Radin

NP12 Winnebago NP12

● 726

[For rituals for securing supernatural aid in warfare see also
Vision quest; category 787.]

Crashing Thunder

*159 helped will then really know what kind of a man you are.

577 For the good you do people will love you.

867 It is not good to win at gambling. You may possibly
[525] become rich thereby but that is no life to lead. If you
are blessed with luck in cards, if you are blessed with
luck at gambling, you will perhaps win things and have
plenty of wealth, but none of your children will live.

Now if you do all that I have told you, you will lead a
happy and prosperous life. That is why we Winnebago
preach to a child we love so that it should never become
acquainted with the things that are not right, and never do
anything wrong. Then if, in later life, a person does any-
thing wrong, he will do it with a clear knowledge of the
consequences of his actions.

III

*159 My son, when you get married, do not make an idol of
581 the woman you marry; do not worship her. If you worship
867 a woman she will insist upon greater and greater worship as
time goes on. This is what the old people used to say.

562 They always preached against those men who hearken too
593 strongly to the words of women; who are the slaves of
women. Now it may happen that a man has received many
warnings as to his behavior in this regard and that he pays
no attention to them. It may go so far that when he is
asked to attend a war-bundle feast²⁰ he will refuse to go;
it may be that when he is married he will listen to the voice

• [926]
[996]
[619]
[776] ²⁰ The war-bundle feast was the great war ceremony of the Winne-
bago. It was given by all those individuals who possessed a war-
bundle and since theoretically there was only one war-bundle in each
clan, the basis of the organization of the ceremony was the clan.
The ceremony consisted largely of prayers, songs and speeches in
honor of the spirits more definitely associated with war. For each

The Teachings of My Father

of his wife and refuse to go on a warpath. He might as well have been brought up as a girl. Men who are real men perform the deeds of men, but such a man will never perform a real man's deed. If he should actually attend a war-bundle feast he will be given the leanest piece of meat, only given to a man of no account. Why should any one run the risk of being thus jeered at? Now when a really brave man attends a war-bundle feast he is given a deer's head. This other man gets a lean piece! It will dry up in his throat, so humiliated and disgraced will he feel. After a while he will not be allowed to go to any feast; his wife will not let him. He will listen to the voice of his wife. His relatives will scold him, his sisters will think nothing of him. They will tell people never to go to visit him. Finally when he has become a real slave of his wife he will even hit his relatives if she asks him to. It is for these reasons that I warn you not to listen to women. You will be considered different from others. It is not good.

Remember this too, that women cannot be watched. If you try to watch them and are jealous about them, then your female relatives will also be jealous of them. Finally when your jealousy has developed to the highest pitch, your wife will leave you and run away with some one else. You have allowed her to see by your actions that you worship a woman, and one alone, and, in addition, you have been watching her all the time. Because of this incessant annoyance she will run away from you. If you think that

of these spirits, a buckskin decorated with the symbol sacred to the spirit, was prepared and then at the most dramatic moment of the ceremony these buckskins were thrown out of the ceremonial lodge and it was believed that the spirits came down in person to fetch them. The war-bundle feast was specifically a man's ceremony.

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Crashing Thunder

*159 your wife is the only one to love, you have humbled yourself
[581] and she will be taken from you. You have likewise made
867 the woman suffer; you have made her unhappy. The whole
562 world will hear about it. No other woman will want to
593 marry you and you will have the reputation of being a
bad man.

[579] Now you may act in the following way: You see people
[021] starting on a warpath and you join them knowing that it
is an honor to die on the warpath. But you will join them
because you feel unhappy at your wife's flight. Now this
is not the proper way to act. You are throwing away your
life; you are causing the leader of the war-party to throw
away a life. If you want to go on the warpath, do not go
because your wife has been taken away from you, go
because you feel courageous enough to do so.

[185] It is on the warpath that a man has fun! Do not go,
[126] however, unless you have fasted adequately. You must
fast for each specific warpath. If you do not and yet
join a war-party, then in the midst of the fight, a bullet
will come your way and kill you. That will happen because
you did not fast. If you have performed any deeds of
valor, recount them to your sisters and to your sister's
children. Those in charge of war-bundles are good to
listen to in such matters. Those to whom such people give
advice will eat an excellent dish; they will have the
[554] honor of sitting near a great warrior in the middle of the
lodge.

*159 These are the things of which the old people spoke and
867 this also is the advice I give you. I myself never asked
579 for these things, but my father did. Your grandfather
did. He asked for the information relating to the manner
in which people are to behave. Never, when you are older,
should you allow yourself to get in the predicament of not

§10. *A War-Bundle Feast*

When the hunting was over my father selected ten deer with which to give a war-bundle feast. Those who had been selected as attendants then transferred these deer to the place where the people always give their feasts. 159* 796 726 ●

I was fasting at the time and only broke my fast at evening. Every night I went out to make my appeal to the spirits before I ate. Five days before the feast was to be given I commenced to fast through the night also. On the fifth night, together with my older brother, I went to the feast. During the day I had spent the time in the wilderness uttering my cry to the spirits: 159* 787 796 726

"O spirits, here humble in heart I stand, besecching you." [782]

I was far more thirsty than hungry. I don't believe that either my tongue or mouth were even moist.

That night we held aloft the deerskins that were to be offered to the spirits and we stood there crying piteously. There we wept humbly and those who were to give the feast wept with us, as they extended their holy compassion to us. Then, at midnight, we stood near the war weapons and again raised our appeal to the spirits. [782]

Our feast was given in a lodge that had eight fire-000

Crashing Thunder

• 726
* 159 Our feast was given in a lodge that had eight fire-
796 places. The host always sits near the last fireplace, at
789 the east end. There we stood crying to the spirits.
340 My older brother fell to the ground from fatigue and
354 exhaustion. We were stark naked except for our
291 breech-clouts. When this prayer was finished we put
on our moccasins. Then the host greeted the partici-
pants as follows:

"I greet you; I greet you all, war-bundle possessors. My grandparents, especially my grandfather, concentrated their minds upon this ceremony for me. The fireplace, the food, the offerings, with which the spirits blessed my grandfather, that I am going to ask for myself to-day. However weakly I may wobble about in trying to do the proper thing to-day, I know that my elders present here will extend their aid to me. I am now going to offer some tobacco to you all. War-bundles possessors, I greet you all."

* 159 Following the speech came the prayers to the various
796 spirits:
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Hearken O Earthmaker, our father, I am about to offer tobacco to you. My ancestor concentrated his mind upon you and that with which you blessed him I now ask of you directly. I ask for the small amount of life you granted him, aye for four times the blessings you bestowed upon him. May I never meet with trouble in life.

O Grandfather, chief of the Thunderbirds, you who live in the west, here is a handful of tobacco. Extend to me the deer with which you blessed my ancestor. I pray you to accept this tobacco from me. May I never meet with trouble in life.

A War-Bundle Feast

O Grandfathers, spirits of the night, walkers in darkness, to you I offer tobacco and ask for the fireplaces which my ancestor received. If you smoke this tobacco see to it that I never become a weakling. 159*
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To you who live in the south, you who look like a man, you who are invulnerable, you who deal out life from one side of your body and death from the other, you whom we call Disease-Giver, to you I offer tobacco. In daylight, in broad daylight, did you bless my ancestor. With food you blessed him; you told him that he would never fail in anything, you told him that you would avoid his home; you placed animals in front of him that he should have no trouble in obtaining them. An offering of tobacco I make to you that you may smoke it and that I may not be troubled in life. [153]

Then they offered prayers to the Black Hawk, the Sun, the Moon, the South Wind, the Earth, and the Eagle. Many speeches were given, for every guest who was invited to impersonate a spirit delivered one. The man who was impersonating the Thunderbird spoke as follows: 159*
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Host and relatives, all you who are seated here, to all I send forth my greetings. All those present have given me good advice and even the women and children here have pleaded in my behalf with the spirits. What love that was! And of what does life consist of but love! The clan counselor is repeating the songs that were obtained when the sacred bundle was made, so that when the time for the tobacco offering to the spirits came, the specially prepared tobacco would be ready. Now indeed that time has arrived

Crashing Thunder

* 159 and they are all sitting here prepared to pray to all the
796 various spirits. Long before, when in their visions they
537 were vouchsafed a warpath, the soul of the man they were
726 to kill would be already in their possession when they performed this ceremony. It is to attract his soul that this ceremony is performed. You are going to have a good and prosperous warpath. When you are actually in the midst

[782] of the warpath and are about to rush upon the enemy, pour tobacco to the various spirits who are in control of war, say, "Thus, grandfathers, were we accustomed to offer tobacco to you." Although you may not know by any word or direct sign whether the war-controllers have answered you, you will know it as soon as the rush upon the enemy takes place, for although you walk where the bullets rain hardest you will pass out of their range and come through in safety. Then when you return to your people every one will rush out to bestow the war honors upon you. If you give this sacred feast in the proper way, if you burn up much tobacco and food, then the various spirits, especially the Thunderbirds who are the greatest war-controllers, will bless you for the excellent way in which you prayed to him. Whenever they pass your way they will remember you. They will even call you by name and say, "Let us smoke here."

[796] This is the way in which young men are encouraged to act, but only a few succeed. It is good. The host has preached to us and pleaded for all those who are present. He has made offerings of food to our grandfathers who live in the west; pleasing offerings of tobacco and buckskin has he sent to them. I have been permitted to impersonate this great spirit and have thus obtained life for myself and my unimportant clansmen, for all of us who have been living in so lowly a condition. With real life have we felt ourselves connected through your actions. We have felt our-

A War-Bundle Feast

selves connected with life by means of that organ which Earthmaker gave us as a measure of things.²¹ I send forth my greetings to you all.

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Then he who was impersonating the Disease-Giver spoke:

War-bundle owners, relatives seated around here, I greet you all. This is indeed a marvelous performance that we have witnessed and he who was able to do it must surely be a marvelous man. Very few people listen to the advice of their parents but he must have been one who did and that is why he has done so well. The members of his clan have been sincerely worshiping the spirits. He who originally made this war-bundle ritual was like a spirit in power and what he told them to do they are doing in every detail. It is good work they are doing. Sufficient food are they offering to those in control of war powers for the spirits easily to take cognizance of it. They have placed ample tobacco and different kinds of buckskin within reach of the spirits. To you, O Disease-Giver, a pleasing white buckskin has been strung out in offering and with it a pleasing red feather as a hair ornament. How indeed would it be possible for the spirits not to recognize these offerings? And if they recognize them then we who are impersonating the spirits, will also receive the benefit of the blessings of war and life, extended to the host.

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Long ago our ancestors asked the spirits to bless them so that then they might live happily. Here we are sitting around the fireplace and the life that the host and his friends have asked for, the spirits are not merely extending to them

²¹ A very curious circumlocution for stomach. He means, of course, all the food that has been eaten.

[145]

Crashing Thunder

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but to all those present. In the olden days the old people used to say to the young boys, "You are not able to fast as yet and to offer up proper food to the spirits so as to clear away the weapons held against you." Now just as these older people would have liked, so you are doing. Even I, who am of no consequence, have nevertheless been permitted to impersonate a great spirit. This you have done for me—allowed me to impersonate that spirit² who is the bravest of them all, the one who is in control of power whereby an enemy can be killed outright! One side of this spirit's body controls life and the other death. Now they are about to offer to this spirit, the food of a white animal, of a male animal, the dog, as well as a white buckskin, feathers and tobacco—all of them objects that please him very much. To Disease-Giver they are about to extend these things so that therewith they may ask him for war power and life. It is an awe-inspiring spirit to whom they have been making offerings. Surely I, who have been listening only by virtue of the host's generosity, do not have to say anything in his behalf. He thought of his ancestor when he asked me to impersonate this spirit. Of all the spirits his is the name which one cannot speak lightly, it is said. If nevertheless I greet his name and speak about this spirit, may I not be weakened by uttering it. Those who are about to offer you food, grandfather Disease-Giver, send you their greetings. To you, O host, do I send my greetings, as well as to all the war-bundle owners seated here.

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The feasters sang dancing songs throughout all this time. At dawn we were to pass the deerskin offerings through the roof of the lodge. My older brother took the lead. I followed and the others came up behind

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2. [i.e., Disease Giver—Analyst]

A War-Bundle Feast

me. We all had a deerskin apiece. Only those who were giving the food had the right to hold one of the ten deerskins. A man playing a flute taken from a war-bundle marched ahead, and behind came the people carrying the incense of the burning cedar leaves. We thus marched around the lodge and my brother and I again made our cry to the spirits. At that time we were naked apart from our breech-clouts and moccasins. Four times did we make the circuit. Then we passed the deerskins up through the roof of the lodge.

Now the feasters were to eat again. A separate kettle had been put on for us boys and we were to eat first. They then called upon a man to eat out of our plate with us. His name was *Blue-sitter*. He was a holy man, a shaman, a brave man, one who had obtained many war honors. Four deer ribs were dished out to me in a wooden bowl. Then the one who was to eat out of my plate came and sat near my dish and began to handle the food. He tore it into small pieces and began telling me of the blessing he had received from the spirits. He told me how all the great spirits had blessed him—the Sun, the Moon, the Thunder-[116] birds, the Earth, the Sky, the Daylight, and all the spirits that exist in the heavens. The spirits on the earth and those under the waters, all these talked to him, he said. While partaking of my food he would think of this power, he told me. I would go through battle unharmed and I was to obtain war honors. My children, if I had any, were to enjoy a good and happy life. Thus he spoke.

Crashing Thunder

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Then he took a piece of my food in his mouth and placed some in my mouth four times. I continued eating as the rest of the feasters began their meal. For quite some time I was not able to eat much.

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Through it all I was not in the least conscious of any dreams or blessings. All that I was aware of was that all the people around me were taking pity upon me. Throughout it all I had my mind fixed on women. In doing these things I imagined that I had accomplished something great and that I had risen greatly in women's estimation. Even though I tried to render myself pitiable in the sight of the spirits, yet through it all, my thoughts were centered upon them. I was never lowly at heart and never really desired the blessing of the spirits. All that I thought of was that I was a great man and that the women would regard me as a great man.